1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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POLYGYNY

595 In reconstructing the past from legends and traditions one gains the impression that monogamy was general, but that several men, owing to their power or wealth, could afford many wives. The last supporters of paganism were certain chiefs who, having several wives, hesitated to become Christian lest they be obliged to part with them (230, vol. 6, p. 565). However, not all the chiefs availed themselves of this privilege and at the time of European contact there were only a few persons with several mates. No conclusion can be drawn from this situation since at that period there were just half as many women as men. I was told that the chiefs or persons of rank (*tangata honui*) were allowed several wives who were supposed to live in separate houses to avoid fighting—this last detail is perhaps a modern rationalization. Iri, Victoria's grandfather, had eight wives. A man generally resided with the first wife (*vie rae*), but sometimes several favorite wives lived with him. Viriamo, Tepano's mother, had been the second wife of a man of the Miru tribe (194, p. 227).

What truth there is in Thomson's statement (215, p. 465) that a husband could sell or lease his wife to another for a stated term I do not know. This may be an allusion to polyandric habits, as in the Marquesas. In the legend of Hamea and Raa, the two brothers live successively with the same woman. Some natives are said not to be very particular about their wives' adulteries with foreigners if some profit is to be gained.

MARRIAGE CEREMONY

[582] 585 Young men now marry at about the age of 20; girls marry a little earlier. If they have the mutual consent of their parents, a ceremony is performed at the church under the direction of the catechist. As the marriage is not considered entirely valid until it is blessed by a priest, they usually wait for the coming of the frigate *Baquedano* to have all unions consecrated by the chaplain. I have numerous proofs of the importance attached to the parents' consent for marriage, but Roussel (190, pp. 465-466), who lived many years among the natives in the early sixties of the nineteenth century, asserts: "Marriages were contracted without consulting the will of the parents. They were decided by inclination." Roussel made the same statement to Palmer (168, p. 281) and to Gana (86, p. 39).

584 583 Although they visited the island at the same time and had access to the same source of information, Thomson and Cooke make contradictory statements concerning the formalities of marriage. Thomson (215, p. 465) says, [584] "the betrothal is conducted by parents, the relations of the female paying a stipulated amount generally in food to be consumed by the friends at the feast given to celebrate the event." Cooke (54, pp. 716-717) states that the bride-

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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to lie around and gossip, to smoke, to sit and "moon" over the industry, the greatness, and the monuments of his ancestors, the degeneracy and decadence of his race, perhaps, and his own utter and ineradicable worthlessness individually. Natural covetousness and desire for the possession of lucre may tempt him to serve the white man for a time, but he soon tires of his work, which speedily becomes irksome to him. And while he may exert himself a trifle occasionally, in the way of fishing, or in the cultivation of an 8 by 10 patch of sugar cane, taro, and sweet potato, it is only as a matter of necessity, to keep body and soul together, and he infinitely prefers idleness and the enjoyment of his *dolce far niente*.

Intoxicating drinks of any description, even kava, so common in the islands to the westward, are unknown to these people, and neither do Mr. Salmon, or the other foreign residents, keep any liquors in their possession. While, therefore, it is true that here, as elsewhere among uncivilized peoples, contact with the European has been attended by their gradual extinction, it can not be said that all the usual factors obtain in this instance, since neither the venereal poison nor intoxicants exist on the island. Consequently, these can not be assigned as causes of the decadence of the Rapa Nuis. Deportation, forced and voluntary, smallpox, and customs, elsewhere mentioned in this paper, will explain their gradual extinction, in part, at least, while the fact remains that their seemingly inevitable destiny was vastly accelerated when the white man set foot upon their mysterious, mid-ocean island.

The rite of circumcision, so common in the other islands, is unknown here, nor does their language possess an equivalent word.

As may be inferred from the preponderance of the male over the female portion of the community the latter are in demand, and the supply not being equal to it, the women are a source of great solicitude; much consideration is shown them; they are fairly well taken care of, and are treated, generally, with kindness, not to say affection. Polygamy, under the circumstances, does not, of course, exist and celibacy, it may be said, only from necessity, since there are not enough females.

While it can not be truthfully claimed that polyandry, in the strict acceptation of the term, obtains among them, they have a custom which very nearly approaches that practice, as will appear presently.

At the present day the ceremonies of the church, measurably at least, govern their marriages; nevertheless the ancient custom still prevails, to a considerable extent, and in a few words it is this: When a boy arrives at the age of, say 12 years, his father looks about him for a suitable life-companion, of the opposite sex, for the young hopeful. Having discovered one to his liking the father proceeds to interview the parents of the damsel, who is perhaps of the same age, or more likely younger than her prospective lord, declares his intentions matrimonial and negotiations are then entered into. After a due amount of haggling as to the value of the girl, during which the parents of the

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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266 172 in the luncheon-basket, and, sitting down on a rock, asked to be told the story of the cave. "That," my attendants replied, "is Ko Tori." He was, they said, the last man on the island who had eaten human flesh. In this hiding-place he had enjoyed his meals, and no one had ever been able to track him. There had formerly been a cooking-place, but it was now hidden by a fall of stones. He had died as a very old man at the other end of the island, apparently in the odour of sanctity; to judge by the toothless jaw if he had not deserted his sins they must long ago have deserted him. His last desire was to be buried in the place with which he had such pleasant connections, and in dutiful regard to his wishes, or because it was feared that his ghost might otherwise make itself unpleasant, some of the young men bore the corpse on stretchers along the south coast and up to the top of the mountain, depositing it here. The next thing was to get at some sort of date; chronology is naturally of a vague order, and the most effective method is, if possible, to connect events with the generation in which they happened. "Did your grandfather know him," was asked, "or your father?" The answer was unexpected. "Porotu," they said, pointing to one of the old men, "helped to carry him," and silence fell on the group. My heart sank; I had then undone this last pious work and committed sacrilege. To my great relief, however, strange sounds soon made it clear that the humorous side had appealed to the escort; they were suffocating with mirth. "And now," they said, gasping between sobs of laughter, "Ko Tori goes in a basket to England." As I write, Ko Tori resides at the Royal College of Surgeons, and has done his bit towards elucidating the mystery of Easter Island.

834 581 595 611 764 Sexual morality, as known to us, was not a strong point in life on the island, but marriage was distinctly recognised, and the absolute loose liver was a person apart. Polygamy was usual, but many seem to have had only one wife. The children belonged to the father's clan, and are often distinguished by his name being given after their own. At the same time the clan of the mother was not ignored, and a man would sometimes fight for his maternal side. If a man had sons by more than one wife, after his death each claimed the body of his father to lie on the ahu of his mother's clan, and the corpse might thus be carried to several in turn, finally returning to its own destination.

15: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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115 the projecting noses, excavated on the south-eastern slope of Raraku (fig. 73) and, when she wanted water, rather than cross the boundary and go round to the lake by the gap, through the hostile dwellers on the western side, she used to clamber with her vessel up the boundary rift in the cliff face. There was one [586] white child, who died young, but her marriage was not a success, and Viriamo left the man and went off to live with one of the Miru clan at Anakena. His house already contained a wife and family, also four brothers, but they all got on quite happily to- [592] gether. She had five children by this man, who, like their father, ●595 were all white; four of them, however, died in infancy. This was the result of the parents having most unfortunately fallen foul [754] of an old man, whose cloak had been taken without his consent, and who had accordingly prophesied disaster. The remaining child, a daughter, was living and unmarried when we were on the island. The last husband was the most satisfactory of the three; he was a Tupahotu living near Tongariki. She was handed over to him as a matter of family arrangement, in discharge of a debt, but she was quite amenable to the exchange, and was very fond of him. He was light in colour, but her only child by this marriage, our friend Juan, was dark, taking, as he said, "after my mam-ma."

593 The women do not seem, judging by existing remains, to have had always a happy time. Dr. Keith, who examined the skulls collected by the Expedition, concludes his report on one of the female specimens as follows: "The most likely explanation is that the indent of the left temple was the cause of death, produced by the blow of a club, and that the suppuration and repair of the right side has been also produced by a former blow which failed to prove fatal. Two other skulls, also those of women, show indented fractures in the left temporal region."

764 Any deficiency at marriages, in the way of social festivity, was made up at funerals. These were attended by persons from [602] all over the island, for "when they were not fighting, they were all cousins." In answer to the remark that "considering the population their whole time must have gone in this way," it was cheerfully observed that "they had nothing else to do, so they all went, everybody took food and everybody ate." The parents of one of our friends, Kapiera, lived at Anakena, but he was born on the south side of the island near Vaihu "when his